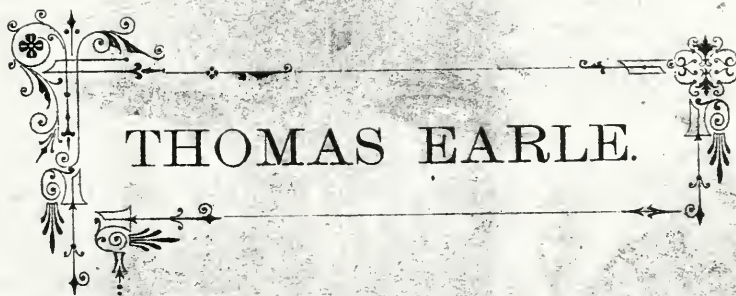


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Simpson, Henry



THOMAS EARLE.

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Copied from H. Simpson's Lives of Distinguished Philadelphians.

THOMAS EARLE was born in Leicester, Massachusetts, on the 21st of April, 1796. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, and he was educated by them, in the strictest tenets of that sect. His paternal ancestors emigrated from England in the year 1640. One of these was a friend of William Penn, by whom he was held in such high esteem for his probity and good sense, that Penn was wont to say, "When I build a house, Ralph Earle's name shall be upon it."

Mr. Earle's father and paternal uncles were well known in New England for many years as manufacturers of hand and machine cards; and in boyhood he worked at this trade. He also attended the grammar school of the district, until of a suitable age, when he was placed in the academy, at Leicester—one of the best and most flourishing institutions of the State, and which has the honor of reckoning among its graduates some of the most distinguished men of Massachusetts.

His early love of literary pursuits was encouraged and fostered by his parents, who both possessed uncommon intelligence and mental cultivation; his mother, among many other intellectual endowments, possessing the rare faculty of poetic improvisation.

He was remarkable, when very young, for thought-

fulness and sobriety of demeanor—taking so little interest in the sports and amusements of those of his own age, that it was afterwards remarked of him that “he never was a boy.”

At this early age he added to an inquiring mind and ardent love of truth, great reasoning and argumentative powers, which, being united to an uncommon command of temper, rendered him almost irresistible in debate, so that few could long withstand his forcible reasoning; and those, who then, as in after life, brought to the contact long-indulged opinions and dearly-cherished prejudices, were compelled to abandon them and to yield to his superior powers.

His parents and near relatives were all attached to what was then called the Federal party in politics; and he, in boyhood, was a friend and uncompromising pupil of that school, but his maturer and more enlightened views led him to reject those doctrines, and to embrace what he considered the pure *democracy* of Christianity, which he advocated faithfully and fearlessly to the end of his life.

On quitting Leicester Academy he removed, at the age of twenty-one, to the city of Philadelphia, where he embraced the commercial business; and, having married in 1820, he established himself permanently in that city. But he soon found the pursuits of trade uncongenial and distasteful, and not meeting with success, he finally abandoned them, and in 1824 he commenced the study of the law under John Sergeant, Esq. In the course of

the practice of his profession his attention was awakened to the great defects and errors in the Constitution of the State and the abuses existing under its administration. He witnessed, on every hand, corruption and oppression, and believing that a necessity was laid upon him to labor for the removal of these evils, he acted upon this conviction, and suggested the call of a convention, for the purpose of effecting such changes as would secure the well-being and the rights of the people.

With this view he conferred with his friends of both political parties whose views corresponded with his own. A few sympathized, and *one or two* assisted and co-operated with him; but, in this, as in other contemplated reforms, he met either lukewarmness and indifference or open hostility. But this did not deter him from the great object to which he devoted all the energies of an energetic mind and determined will, ardent love of freedom, hatred of oppression, of partial privileges and monopolies. He, in conjunction with Mr. Johnson, purchased the *Mechanics' Free Press*, to which he added the title of *Reform Advocate*. This paper was ably conducted, and was devoted to the cause so dear to him; and, after years of patient and anxious toil, he so far succeeded in arousing the citizens of the State to the necessity of a change, that a convention for the purpose of reform in the Constitution was called in the year 1836.

The convention met first at Harrisburg, and Mr. Earle was elected a delegate from the county of Phila-

delphia. It afterwards removed to the city of Philadelphia, and sat in the Musical Fund Hall. The results of its deliberations and the beneficial changes it accomplished belong to history, and may be found in the published debates.

Mr. Earle was pleasantly called by his coadjutors "the father of the convention," and was one of its most active and industrious members. The principles which he advocated in its debates were consistently democratic. Neither friendship nor favor, either here or elsewhere, ever causing him to swerve from his established convictions of justice and truth.

It may seem surprising to the careless observer of life and nature, of men and things, to one unaccustomed to notice, from what comparatively small causes great events are produced; that a poor Yankee youth, without powerful friends or influential political position should have succeeded in accomplishing, in so short a period, a revolution in the great State of Pennsylvania, overthrowing its Constitution and establishing, upon a more democratic basis, the present one, whose beneficial changes are universally acknowledged.

But the toils, the anxieties, the personal sacrifices necessary for the bringing about so great an end, can never be known but by those who mingled with him in daily life, and who witnessed his untiring devotion and his complete self-sacrifice.

The convention sat in the Musical Fund Hall, and after its sittings were concluded, and the amendments

were submitted to a vote of the people for its acceptance or rejection, the returns at first were favorable, but subsequently were less so from the more remote counties, and his friends trembled for the results. His eldest daughter, a girl of sixteen, and deeply interested in the result, asked him if the amendments were rejected what he would do? supposing he would give it up in despair, but his answer was, "We will try it again."

That so ardent a lover of liberty should be led, early in life, to view with grief the oppression existing in our own beloved country, will not be considered a matter of surprise. He joined, in 1821-22, the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage," which Society enrolled among its earliest members Franklin and Rush; as one of its counselors he labored zealously and faithfully till near his decease, and, except in one instance, without pecuniary compensation. His was a consistent democracy, and he toiled long and ardently, both with tongue and pen, for the extinction of American slavery.

In the anti-slavery field he supported the doctrines of compensation to the slave-owners, or purchase of the slaves by the Government, as has been the case in all countries where slavery has been peacefully abolished. His plan was to effect an alteration in the Constitution of the United States, so as to enable the General Government to abolish slavery through compensation to the slave-holders by a sale of the public lands.

For this purpose he had printed and circulated petitions to Congress, directed to postmasters in many parts of this Union, not neglecting the circulation of them at home, continuing as long as he lived to forward them annually to Congress. He considered petitioning—though toilsome and wearisome to those immediately engaged—one of the most important instrumentalities in the abolition of slavery, and often and earnestly urged its importance upon his more indolent and less hopeful coadjutors. A little before his decease he had printed petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery through compensation to the slave-holders, ready for every post-office in every State in the Union, which his death prevented from being forwarded as directed.

His views on this subject have been united with by many who have taken little interest in the actions of such as differed with him on this point, or who have openly opposed them. He remarked that this was the only just and equitable measure which could be adopted for the extinction of American slavery, satisfying, if accomplished, all parties, the slave-owner and the people generally. To some who considered the measure impracticable, he would answer, "The way is ever open to the honest intention and determined will."

In the Presidential election of 1840, James G. Birney, of Kentucky, as President, and Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President, were the unsuccessful candidates of the Liberal or Abolition party, thereby de-

feating the election of Henry Clay, the candidate of the Whig party.

One of his earliest literary efforts, while a member of the Law Academy, was an "Essay on Penal Law," which was considered so good that it was published by the Academy. He next published an "Essay on Railroads," which is held in high esteem by those conversant in such matters. These were published *after* the pamphlet on the "Right to alter Charters." This small pamphlet was published in 1823, a copy of which he sent to Thomas Jefferson, from whom he received the following characteristic reply, which has never before been published :

MONTICELLO, September 24th, 1823.

SIR:—Your letter of August 28th, with the pamphlet accompanying it, was not received until the 18th instant. That our Creator made the earth for the use of the living, and not of the dead ; that those who exist not can have no use nor rights in it, no authority or power over it ; that one generation of men cannot foreclose or burden its use to another, which comes to it in its own right and by the same Divine beneficence ; that a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts, these deriving their obligation from the will of the existing majority, and that majority being removed by death, another comes in its place, with a will equally free to make its own laws and contracts. These are axioms so self-evident that no explanation can make them plainer ; for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence, or that nothing can move something. They are axioms, also, pregnant with salutary consequences. The laws of civil society, indeed, for the encouragement of industry, give the property of the parent to his family on his death, and in most civilized countries permits him even to give it by testament to whom he pleases. And it is also found more convenient to suffer the laws to stand on our implied assent, as if positively re-enacted, until the existing majority positively repeals them ; but this does not lessen the right of that

majority to repeal, whenever a change of circumstances or of will calls for it; habit alone confounds civil practice with natural right.

With my thanks for the pamphlet, be pleased to accept the assurance of my great respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The surviving relatives of the late Benjamin Lundy—the pioneer in the cause of African emancipation—were desirous that Mr. Earle should prepare a memoir of that distinguished philanthropist, and he complied with their wishes, though at the time feeble in health, and feeling inadequate to do justice to the self-denying labors of the man who awoke the American people from their lethargy and aroused them to the necessity of doing something for the oppressed bondman. It is true that there had occasionally sounded a note of expostulation and warning from devoted men like Lay, Benezet and Woolman, but Lundy was the first to give himself, heart and soul, life and limb, to this cause, yielding to it the delights of home and kindred, toiling alone and unaided in sickness and sorrow, through the southern part of our country, through Mexican dominions, and in all places where he thought he could be useful. By his writings and personal efforts anti-slavery societies were established in one or more of our Southern States. By his mild and persuasive efforts he had convinced many, and his labors in this cause were uninterrupted till his gentle and patient spirit was summoned hence.

This memoir, though lacking in the interest which he might have given it, had he been in better health, is still an able and impartial history, not only of the career

of this good man, but of the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and therefore valuable, not only to those who have an especial interest in this movement, but to the future historian of the country.

The last two or three years of his life were devoted almost exclusively to literary pursuits. All his time, not engrossed with professional duties, he devoted to the preparation of a "Grammatical Dictionary of the French and English Language."

He felt the most intense interest in philological research, and the amount of knowledge he gained by years of close and patient study was remarkable. His knowledge of the French, German, Spanish and Italian languages was all acquired while he was engaged in the practice of an arduous profession, and after he was forty years of age. He would remark, "When I have finished this dictionary, I intend to prepare one of other languages." When urged to cease from these exertions, which it was feared were injuring his health, he would reply, "Don't ask me to do it; I am lightening the labors of thousands, who will be grateful when I am gone." His last literary relaxation, commenced shortly before the fatal attack of his disease, was a translation of Sismondi's Italian Republics into English.

It cannot, therefore, be matter of surprise that he who was said to have lived not the full life of one man, but who had performed the labor of three, should have exhausted the energies and undermined the foundations of life prematurely, and that he should have been removed.

from active usefulness at the age of fifty-two years, when from a naturally excellent constitution and the most careful and temperate habits of life he might have confidently reckoned on attaining old age.

Early in the spring of 1849 he complained of pain under the left shoulder-blade, and a swelling soon after appearing, was called by his physician lumbar abscess. He had been feeble and complaining for some weeks, and had been afflicted with a severe cough.

It was hoped that he might survive this attack, and all means which affection and love could dictate were resorted to, but all was useless. He continued to decline daily, and on the 14th of July, 1849, he quietly breathed his last, at the residence of his friend, Charles Walton, at Willow Grove, Montgomery County.

When hearts whose truth was proven,
Like thine, are laid in earth,
There should a wreath be woven,
To show the world their worth.

The simple stone at the Woodlands Cemetery tells that Thomas Earle reposes there—but it is only the mortal part. His excellent example and the memory of his virtues survive in eternal freshness. The poor and afflicted man, who came to him for counsel and assistance, when all other means had failed, and the name of these is legion, the laboring colored man and the slave, whose cause he made his own, all these should assist in “weaving the wreath;” but it is exclusively the work of those who knew him most intimately and

loved him best, "to show the world his worth." His daily lessons to his family, of brotherly kindness and love, of unselfishness, forgiveness of injury, of kindness to the poor and afflicted, of patient consideration for domestics, of industry, of economy, of strict justice to all men—these will never be forgotten, and will form an enduring, an imperishable wreath.



A DISCOURSE

ON

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

AND THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

DELIVERED AT

The Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N. Y.,

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 1 1879.

BY

A. P. PUTNAM.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. :

TREMLETT & CO., PRINTERS, 326-330 FULTON STREET

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Sermon.

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

"Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him? and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

"Then shalt thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward."—Isaiah, lviii: 6, 7, 8.

Not since the death of the martyr President have the press, the pulpit and the people been called afresh to the commemoration of departed greatness as now in view of the death, a week ago yesterday, of William Lloyd Garrison. Conspicuously identified with the most gigantic moral conflict of our age, from its commencement to its close; a leader and a hero, whose character was singularly pure and lofty, and whose remarkable powers and energies were devoted without stint or cessation to the welfare of the poor and the oppressed; a man whose faith, virtue, courage and perseverance carried him on from small beginnings, out of discouraging circumstances, through nameless difficulties, into a large place, and to an honorable and a world-wide fame—he may well be the theme of our thoughts here in the house of God, and furnish us all some needed lessons of life. Fitted and sent of God to wage relentless and destructive war against the direst evil that has ever afflicted our land, and that corrupted all our social system, our body politic, and our national religion, it was inevitable that he should fight the enemy at every point, and come into collision with numerous classes and manifold interests of the people; and it was inevitable, also, that his determined struggle should stir up the passions and hatreds of men, and that he himself should be greatly misunderstood and villified. But, now, the mighty battle is over and the smoke of it has rolled away. The terrible antagonisms of the controversy and the awful bloodshed which it occasioned belong to the past. Not by peaceful means, as

we hoped, but by the dread appeal to arms, the fetters have been broken from the slave, and freedom has been made the inheritance of all. He who so long ago raised the cry for "immediate and universal emancipation" lived to rejoice in the realization of his dream and purpose, to see the prejudices and animosities of his countrymen die away, and to bask in the sunshine and warmth of their love and esteem. Now that he himself has gone, and the grave has closed over the still heart that once beat so strongly amid the strife, and the momentous epoch in which he was so prominent a figure has passed into history, it is given us all to see the man, the nature of his soul, the meaning of his life, and the extent of his influence, as we could not do in the dust and confusion of other years. How changed already the general estimate of his worth and work! Men, journals, parties, that forty, thirty, twenty years ago, denounced and persecuted him as a mischievous and pestilent disturber of the peace and a mortal foe of the State and of the Christian religion, now vie with each other in rendering the highest honor to his memory and in holding him up to the admiration of the world as one of the greatest and best of the age, "one of the few, the immortal names, that were not born to die." It is not difficult to forecast his future award in the judgment of mankind. It is such souls as his that live in history and gain an ever-increasing hold upon the respect and gratitude of the generations—souls that trust their better instincts and intuitions, that give themselves fearlessly and unreservedly to the truth and the right, that love God and love man, and that are faithful unto death, in the face of earth's frowns and in defiance of all obstacles, in labors for the advancement of the race in light, liberty and love. Not the ambitious but time-serving politicians and statesmen, not the powerful but conscienceless millionaires, not the mitred but proud and crafty ecclesiastics, whose burials are attended with such costly parade, and whose praises are rehearsed with such pomp of words—not these, but rather the stainless and tireless servants of truth and righteousness, who lead on the forlorn hope and fear not martyrdom, who make crusade against hoary wrongs and errors, open the way to brighter paths and prospects and lift humanity up to higher levels, are the ones who enter at last "*Time's Great Valhalla*."

The words which I have taken from Isaiah as my text are appropriate to the occasion, not alone from the circumstance that

they describe so well the sort of service which our illustrious reformer rendered, and indicate so impressively the glorious reward that crowns at length a life like his, but also because this was a favorite passage of Scripture with him, and was often on his lips as he pleaded the sorrows and sufferings of the enslaved and urged the duty of their deliverance. Again and again I have heard him repeat this language of the prophet. The frequent and exceeding appositeness of his quotations from the Bible in illustration and emphasis of the truths which he sought to impress on the minds of his hearers, was one of the most striking features of his public advocacy of his cause. The listener was made to feel, as perhaps he never felt before, what a living power there was in the Old and New Testaments, and what a solemn message the sacred page had for our own times as well as for centuries gone. No preacher, it would seem, was ever more familiar with the Book of Books, or ever employed it more effectually for his purpose, than Mr. Garrison. Indeed, one could not fail to be struck with the profound and earnest religiousness always of this pioneer of the anti-slavery enterprise. I have long had the volume of Selections from his writings, and a most precious volume it is. It reveals the very heart of the man and the very heart of the movement which he originated. None of our popular leaders or eminent civilians have ever been more misunderstood or misrepresented than he has been in regard to this matter. For long years he was stigmatized by the various sects and parties as an infidel and his work as at war with Christianity. Nothing could be more false, unjust, cowardly. No doubt he held views concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures which were freer than those that were entertained by his defamers, but he was no mean, blasphemous eritic of the Bible, nor did he fail to reverence it and use it as the very Word of God. To be sure, he boldly and persistently arraigned the churches and denominations of the land for judgment, and launched against them the thunderbolts of his wrath, but it was because they were so faithless to the first principles of the Gospel which they professed, so fatally compromised by their relations with pro-slavery men and interests, and so sunk in moral apathy, worldliness and sin. As we now look back upon the scene, we see that Mr. Garrison was right and the churches were wrong. In trumpet tones he called upon them, in the name of Christ and for the love of millions for whom Christ died, to take the lead in the

righteous cause. Every minister of the Gospel ought to have responded at once to the strong appeal, and every temple should have rang with the proclamations of liberty. It cannot be denied, and it is one of the most shameful and humiliating facts of the religious history of our people, that, however numerous the exceptions, the Christian pulpits, journals and organizations of the country were generally most recreant to the claims of the hour, and left the stalwart reformer and his brave associates and followers to be far better representatives and much more efficient servants of God's kingdom than they were themselves, in their age and clime.

On his bended knees, at the very outset of his career, he had consecrated himself to his life-work, and asked for wisdom and grace from above to help him in his great undertaking.

Listen to his words, as, not long after, July 4, 1829, he gave his memorable address in Park Street Church, Boston : "I call upon the Churches of the living God to lead in this great enterprise. If the soul be immortal, priceless, save it from redeemless woe. Let them combine their energies and systematize their plans for the rescue of suffering humanity. Let them pour out their supplications to heaven in behalf of the slave. Prayer is omnipotent ; its breath can melt adamantine rocks, its touch can break the stoutest chains. Let anti-slavery charity boxes stand uppermost among those for missionary, tract and educational purposes. On this subject Christians have been asleep. Let them shake off their slumbers and arm for the holy contest."

In 1832 he wrote : "I call upon the spirits of the just made perfect in Heaven, upon all who have experienced the love of God in their souls here below, upon the Christian converts in India and the islands of the sea, to sustain me in the assertion that there is power enough in the religion of Jesus Christ to melt down the most stubborn prejudices, to overthrow the highest walls of partition, to break the strongest caste, to improve and elevate the most degraded, to unite in fellowship the most hostile, and to equalize and bless all its recipients."

In his declaration of sentiments, in the year 1833, he said : "With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock ;" and, in a similar utterance in 1838, he said : "We purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God, to

assail iniquity in high places, to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions, and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ, and He shall reign forever."

Having come to lay aside his traditional notions of the Bible, and to entertain views concerning it, which, it may be said, prevail generally among Unitarians, he gives us this testimony: "I am fully aware how grievously the priesthood have perverted the Bible, and wielded it both as an instrument of spiritual despotism and in opposition to the sacred cause of humanity. Still, to no other volume do I turn with so much interest, no other do I consult or refer to so frequently, to no other am I so indebted for light and strength, no other is so identified with the growth of human freedom and happiness, no other have I appealed to so effectively in aid of the various reformatory movements which I have espoused; and it embodies an amount of excellence so great as to make it, in my estimation, the Book of Books."

The volume from which these extracts are made is strewn with passages of similar import, all showing how penetrated the writer's mind was with Christian faith and sentiment, and how the anti-slavery reform at the very start was baptized into the spirit and power of the Christian religion.

As he himself says, in an article called forth by Daniel Webster's famous speech of March 7, 1850: "Since the advent of the Founder of Christianity, no effort for the melioration of the condition of man has been more largely imbued with the religious element, in its purest and most vital form, than the anti-slavery movement." And he adds in the same connection: "If an unfaltering faith in the promises of God, the deepest sympathy with Christ and love for his character, were ever demanded or exemplified, it has been in the prosecution of the anti-slavery movement, from its commencement to the present hour."

In all the long and tremendous struggle, the appeal was made to God and his everlasting Law, especially as revealed in the character and teachings of Jesus Christ. The churches wickedly sought to make Christianity a defence and support of slavery. The Abolitionists held that it was forever the foe of slavery, and would ultimately prove its destruction. They never tired of reminding their hearers or readers of the merciful spirit, the world-embracing love, that filled the heart and informed the life of Jesus, and of

enforcing the truth that to hold men created in the image of God in abject and cruel bondage, and to buy and sell them like beasts of burden, or like household chattels, was to put the Saviour who died for them to open shame. The anti-slavery enterprise was essentially a religious one, and by that sign it conquered. Mr. Garrison does not overrate one whit the importance and the efficacy of this element in its character. It gave life, power, dignity and irresistible energy to the cause. What it was at first, that it continued to be to the end. The political parties that lit their sacred fires from this pure flame found therein their sure strength and success. Preachers, poets, editors, lecturers, statesmen, and soldiers, too, put their trust in God, and with one accord recognized the higher law of God, which they said and meant should be incorporated into the laws of the land, and be made the stability and glory of the Republic. We know how victory crowned the great endeavor, and how all at last exclaimed with the now departed hero of the conflict, "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thee. O Lord, be all the glory." It was the grandest chapter of our national history that has ever been written.

It marks a sure decay of faith and spirituality among our people that, especially since the war, a large part of our population who had thus believed that religion was the very safety and life of the State, have now come to embrace the secular theory that the two have no necessary or legitimate connection with each other, and that our government and laws must make no recognition of, nor confess any allegiance to, nor acknowledge any dependence upon, a Higher Power. "Religion has nothing to do with politics," was the cry of pro-slavery men, as the advocates of freedom, from the platform and pulpit, sought to show that it was a Christian duty to emancipate the slave, and bring the law of the land into conformity to the law of God. "Religion has everything to do with Politics," answered the whole army of writers or orators of the Abolition, Liberty and Free-Soil parties—Garrison, the Mays and the Burleighs, the Adamses and Quinceys, James G. Birney and William Goodell, Wendell Phillips and John Pierpont, Gerrit Smith and Oliver Johnson, James Freeman Clarke and Henry Ward Beecher, Owen Lovejoy and Joshua R. Giddings, Joshua Leavitt and George Bailey, Lucretia Mott and Lucy Stone, Parker, Emerson, Whittier, Lowell, Sumner, Mann, Furness, Cheever, Weiss, Palfrey, Wilson, Greeley, Barnes, Storrs,

Thompson, Frothingham, and the rest. With each and all of them it was Atheism itself to shut so vast a portion of human affairs and life as our civil and political domain from the power of religion. If God's truth and grace were intended for anything, they were meant to be applied to all the endless interests of mankind, to public opinion, manners and customs, laws and institutions, literature and society, church and state, until, indeed, the kingdoms of the world should become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ.

Strange, is it not, that not a few of those who contended thus for the universal spread of the divine kingdom, and a still larger number of those who claim to be their legitimate descendants or followers, seized by the specious ideas or doctrines of the secularists, are vociferating the self-same atheistic cry of the pro-slavery parties of the last generation, "Religion has nothing to do with politics," and are denying to God or Christianity any rightful jurisdiction or sway over the executive, legislative, judicial, naval, military, penal, eleemosynary, or even educational departments of our states and of the nation? I say it marks a decline of the people's faith and virtue, and of their hold upon spiritual and eternal things. A similar lapse followed the war of the Revolution. Perhaps it was likewise to be expected after the war of the Rebellion. History is full of these disastrous reactions. In great crises, in times of terrible conflict and danger, in plans and enterprises that contemplate vast reforms, and that seem big with destiny, we all as a people turn to God, make Him our reliance, supplicate His aid, seek to make His law our life, and pledge Him our faithful service—and then, when success has been achieved, or the peril is past, even as it is with us in our more private experience in similar circumstances, we forget the Almighty being who has brought us deliverance or vouchsafed us victory, flatter ourselves that we no longer have need of Him, think we are quite sufficient unto ourselves, and fall to the low level, where a calculating policy, considerations of mere expediency, worldly maxims and materialistic views, selfish motives and unsanctified passions, rule the life. It is not alone in great crises that a nation has reason to fear and pray. Its fortunes are quite as much at stake in the reaction, or apathy, or demoralization that is sure to follow. Then, also—then, especially—the reformer, or preacher, or statesman, who has any clear idea of his proper mission,

will still strive to keep the people braced to the idea of God as their supreme and eternal Ruler, and to His changeless and ever respected Law as the sure Palladium of their liberties and their welfare.

There is another important fact in regard to Mr. Garrison's work which has been greatly perverted and which is even now by no means so generally understood as it should be. There are still those who insist that from the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, slavery was in a gradual process of extinction until the rise of the abolition movement about fifty years ago, and that it was owing to the violent agitation of the subject and the fierce attacks made on the institution by the reformers, that the South, in self-defence, became suddenly an ardent friend and determined propagandist of the declining system and henceforth devoted itself to its perpetuation and spread until it was made the ruling interest of one section of the country, and in truth the dominant power of the whole. Large classes and influential parties, among our people, have thus been led to blame Anti-Slavery leaders for arresting and setting back what was proving to be a peaceful method of emancipation, and to hold them responsible for the more colossal growth of the evil and for the fearful strife and bloodshed which finally ensued. I suppose that there are many who still rest in this explanation and view of the great controversy. It is, however, an utter falsification of the plain facts of history.

No doubt that at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution and for many years afterwards, leading men of the South, as well as of the North, were opposed to Slavery, and looked forward to a not distant era, when it would cease to be. The tendency was clearly in that direction, receiving its main impulse from the spirit that animated the revolutionary struggle. An Abolition Society was formed in New York, in 1785, of which John Jay was president; one in Pennsylvania in 1787, of which the President was Benjamin Franklin, and of which the germ was in existence as early as 1775; and other organizations of a like character sprang up about the same time, or shortly after, in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia — all of them before the commencement of the present century. Previous to that date, the prevailing sentiment found expression in various acts of a legislative and judicial character on the part of the general government and of the several States, and

also in the discussions and resolutions of large ecclesiastical bodies, all indicating the drift we have referred to. In various Northern States where slavery from natural causes found it hard to subsist and the number of its victims in almost every case steadily grew less and less, laws continued to be passed to hasten its end. The unproductiveness of this system of involuntary servitude was having more to do with its extirpation than many have thought.

But ere long a great change took place in the Southern mind and policy. It only needed that slave labor should become very profitable, and that which had been so universally regarded as a deadly evil would come to be considered as a blessing and would claim and find protection and favor. Nothing was so instrumental in effecting the change referred to, as the invention of the cotton-gin, by Eli Whitney, in 1793. The mighty reaction may be said to date from that year. A negro woman by hand could only clean a pound of green sea-cotton a day. The cultivation of the plant was not therefore really an object. By the new machine it was easy to clean three or four hundred pounds in the same time, and the work was done in a more satisfactory manner besides. The results of this discovery were most extraordinary. In 1807, Whitney brought a suit at Savannah to sustain the validity of his patent, and Judge Johnson in his charge, said: "The whole interior of the southern States was languishing and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age it has presented to us a lucrative employment. Individuals who were depressed with poverty, and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability. Our debts have been paid off, our capitals have increased, and our lands trebled themselves in value. We cannot express the weight of the obligation which the country owes to this invention." Mr. Webster, in his speech of 1850, to which allusion has already been made, asked, why it was that slavery, from having once been regarded as an "evil" and a "seourge," had now come to be cherished as an "institution," and as "a great religious, social, and moral blessing"?—and he added, "I suppose this, sir, is owing to the sudden uprising and rapid growth of the cotton plantations of the South. * * * The tables will show that the exports of cotton for the year 1790 and 1791 were hardly more than forty or fifty

thousand dollars a year. It has gone on increasing rapidly until it may now be, perhaps, in a season of great product and high prices, a hundred millions of dollars." In fact, the increase was vastly greater than Mr. Webster stated. The testimony of Senator, afterwards Secretary Chase, as given a few days later, should not be omitted: "Unhappily, the original policy of the government and the original principles of the government, in respect to slavery, did not permanently control its action. A change occurred, almost imperceptible at first, but becoming more and more marked and decided, until nearly total. The honorable Senator from Massachusetts, in the course of his late speech, noticed this change, and ascribed it to the rapid increase in the production of cotton. Doubtless, sir, this was a leading cause. The production of cotton, in consequence of the invention of the cotton-gin, increased from 487,600 pounds in 1793 to 6,276,300 pounds in 1796, and continued to increase very rapidly afterwards. Of course the market value of slaves advanced, and masters were less inclined to emancipation." Such concurrent testimony from these two eminent statesmen, who belonged to different political parties, is sufficiently weighty and conclusive.

The demand for slaves in the more Southern or cotton-growing States became greater and greater, and the breeding or importation of them to supply the demand grew to be an immensely profitable business. More and more the African slave trade, with its indescribable horrors, was permitted and encouraged, South Carolina leading the way in 1803 by a law renewing the traffic, and the national government steadily conniving at the iniquity, whatever statutes might be passed to forbid it, while Virginia embarked in a wholesale work of raising men and women to feed the hungry and all-devouring maw of the plantation. Mr. Charles Fenton Mercer said in the Virginia Convention, in 1829: "The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrated, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the commonwealth, for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a million and a half of dollars is derived from the exportation (that is, to other States,) of a part of this population." Meanwhile the minds of Southern statesmen and Southern churches had been undergoing a change of opinion, from all these causes, and from certain others of less importance which might be named. At the same time, moreover, schemes had been on foot for the enlargement of the

area of slavery, and dreams had been entertained of a vast empire in which slavery should be the one commanding interest and source of wealth and prosperity. Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a Slave State in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. In 1802 Georgia ceded to the United States, territory, which, lying between its Western limit and the great river, it was stipulated, should be open to slavery, and which was in due time erected into two new States, Mississippi in 1817, and Alabama in 1819. Louisiana, with its 40,000 slaves, was purchased with \$15,000,000 from the French Republic in 1803, and Florida, in like manner, with \$5,000,000, from Spain in 1819. From the Louisiana territory three new Slave States were formed and admitted, Louisiana in 1812, Missouri in 1821 and Arkansas in 1836. Florida was added in 1845. Mexico emancipated her slaves in 1829. But many emigrants from our Southern States had settled in that portion of the country, known as Texas, previous to that time, and were discontented in view of the decree of freedom. In 1819 and in 1824, lawless adventurers, chiefly from our own country, had attempted to wrest this part of Mexico away, in order to widen the market for human chattels and build up the Slave Power. These plots having failed, our Government, in 1827, offered \$1,000,000 for the prize. In 1829 the bid was raised to \$5,000,000; and, when these overtures were rejected, the object was sought to be accomplished by a loan to the Mexicans of \$10,000,000, with the proposition to take Texas *in pawn* until the money was repaid—a cunning device, on the part of General Jackson's administration, to get possession of the coveted territory, so as to keep it and make use of it for the infamous purposes I have indicated.

“This same year” (that is, in 1829), says a historian, “Thomas H. Benton, Judge Upshur, Mr. Gholson, and other prominent Southern statesmen as well as editors, openly urged the necessity of extending slavery and improving the slave market.” From this time, he adds, it was resolved to get Texas by force. We all, or many of us, remember how the South persisted in her efforts until she accomplished her object and Texas was finally admitted as a State into the Union in 1845; and then how, subsequently, the same fell spirit forced our country into war with Mexico, whereby other immense regions were conquered by us in furtherance of the same general design and plan to widen the empire of slavery.

Mr. Garrison began the publication of the immortal *Liberator*

on the 1st of January, 1831, having done several years of miscellaneous editorial or lecture work immediately before. Will any man say, in view of the survey which I have taken of the preceding generation, that it was any agitation of the subject which he or his immediate helpers began, that first aroused the South to protect, defend and strengthen the monstrous evil; and that, had they only been acquiescent and silent, the evil would have passed on, as it seemed to be passing on at an earlier stage, into sure decay and death? Verily, when he entered upon his terrific warfare against it, it had come to be a colossal power, having vast and still extending territorial possessions—full of schemes for wider and yet wider acquisitions of land by purchase, fraud or force—growing enormously rich by the unpaid labor of countless slaves, bred or imported for the purpose of thus increasing its wealth—opening throughout the South its profane shambles at which men, women and children were bought and sold like cattle, and its accursed plantations where they were scourged to toil without compensation and without mercy—dictating the policy of the government and tempting or compelling political parties and civil authorities to do its behest—intimidating the freer spirit of the North into subjection by threats of disunion, and making our manufacturers and capitalists accomplices in its guilt by the lures of the cotton fields—spreading its baleful influence through all our churches and through all our society, so as to cause most of our preachers, journalists, scholars, lawyers, statesmen and office-holders to be apologists or advocates of a system which their fathers had hated and denounced. Mr. Garrison, we can well believe, did not need such an unfolding of the magnitude of the system to convince him of the evil of it and of the duty to war against it. Had there been only one slave, where there were a thousand, his soul would have been enlisted in the fight much the same. Yet it is not difficult to conceive how, in view of all this actual growth and threatened expansion of slavery, he had a still clearer vision of the sin and the danger, and was more mightily stirred for the contest. How blind appear to us now the men who, when slavery was the one great conspirator and aggressor, cried *Peace*, when there was *no peace*; who hoped to smooth things over by ingenious compromises and guilty concessions, and who tried to persuade themselves that the evil was not so great after all, but that, whether it was or not, it would eventually die of itself, and

needed not our effort to destroy it! Mr. Garrison saw with penetrating glance, which nothing could intercept or turn aside, the essential nature of the institution. He comprehended its full enormity. He saw, as no one else seemed to see, the ruin and the death which it must inevitably work to the country if it should be let alone. What was a brave, upright, earnest man, to whom God had thus vouchsafed His light and upon whom He had laid the burden of proclaiming the truth—what was he to do? What, but to speak and act with all his might? What, but to strike at the very heart of this monster, and strike only to kill? It was the terribleness of his attack that gave offense. Yet it was not to be with carnal weapons. He did not believe in them. It was rather with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. All other methods of attack he left to slavery itself, or to those who could conscientiously employ them. His must be the power of reason and argument, of appeal and warning, of ethical instruction and moral influence. It was his to reveal the wrong and to depict the enormities of slavery, and persuade men to hasten its destruction. It was his to present to his countrymen the fair and beautiful image of Liberty, and lead them to own her gracious rule and rejoice in her blessed ministries. Thank God for all the agencies whereby the reign of oppression was brought to its end—but thank Him, especially, that there was one man, at least, whose reliance was not on the arm of flesh and blood, but upon the might of truth, the unconquerable force of ideas and principles, the immortal energy of love to God and love to man. Such are the souls that sway the world. Slavery was bold, proud, aggressive and titanic—but the printer boy proved more than a match for it; and the writer who recently said that he probably exerted a greater influence in his day and generation than any one of his American contemporaries was not far out of the way. Political organizations and vast armies were brought into requisition to complete the work, but he, more than any one else, began it, infused the needed spirit, and kept the fire ablaze until the end was sure.

His personal character, also, was greatly misunderstood. The fierce and uncompromising warfare which he urged against the nation's foe led many to think he was of a savage and implacable nature. Doubtless he was sometimes too severe in his criticisms and harsh in his judgments. Especially was this the case in his denunciatory or disparaging words about such men as Washington

and Kossuth, Lincoln and Sumner. No nobler figure has appeared in the Anti-Slavery movement than Mr. Sumner, who suffered for the cause as Mr. Garrison never did. The two were personal friends, but the pioneer Reformer was not always just in his treatment of the martyr Statesman. He could not quite forgive him for his support of Mr. Greeley rather than Gen. Grant, as a candidate for the Presidency in 1872, and for his terrible arraignment of the soldier President, his character and his administration. To those who are familiar with Mr. Garrison's intense feeling and violent vocabulary, it seems amusingly incredible that he should upbraid Mr. Sumner for his "well-known inflammable state of mind," his "unchastened zeal," and his "criminating speech, so extravagant in its charges and bitter in its personalities." I remember how, on a certain occasion, he was much disturbed by the circumstance that some colored men addressed the Senator as "the special advocate of their rights," and he went out of his way to taunt him with the style of his language, his "copious and ornate speech," his "rhetorical amplifications," his "grandiloquence," his "gushing display of paternal feeling." He had his jealousy aroused a little by this honor rendered to Mr. Sumner, whom he reminded that it was too late in the day for any one to claim or accept any such distinction. Yet I recall the great meeting in Zion's Church, in Charleston, S. C., not long before, when Mr. Garrison was presented in person to assembled thousands of colored men as their "Saviour," as "the great anti-slavery hero of our country," and as the "Wilberforce of America," and when this meed of praise, so far from being refused, was accepted with evident gratification. Senator Sumner was also needlessly reminded that he was not in the anti-slavery fight as early as some others; was reproached for not attending the Garrisonian gatherings; was called to an account for not having spoken sooner in the interest of Freedom after he first went to Washington; and was compared unfavorably with his colleague, Henry Wilson. Such criticism, or rebuke, of one who had so long and courageously contended with the "beasts at Ephesus," and had come from the fight, covered with "honorable scars," was as unhandsome as it was uncalled for. It is of no use to try to cover such exhibitions of captious or ignoble feeling with lavish and unqualified tributes of reverence and admiration. Mr. Garrison had his faults, whatever his transcendent merits. The former were small and few in comparison with the

latter. He was too sweeping and indiscriminate in his denunciations, as in his merciless characterizations of all who were friends of Mr. Webster — too sweeping and indiscriminate, as I think, in his abuse of the colonizationists, and even of the slaveholders themselves. He seemed too strenuously to insist that anti-slavery men should work with himself and in his way, and that to pursue any other course was so far to fall short of an acceptable service of down-trodden humanity. Liberty party men, Free-Soilers, and Republicans, who, according to their ability and opportunity, were as good friends of the colored race as he was, were not seldom castigated as soundly by him as ever were the worst enemies or betrayers of Liberty. He had various quarrels from time to time even with leading men of his own school, who were made to feel that he was unreasonably stubborn, and that he was unkind, unjust, selfish or ambitious. It was one of these quarrels that saddened the declining days of that bright, keen, staunch, wonderful man, N. P. Rogers, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*. Writing from Plymouth, under date of May 16, 1845, Mr. Rogers said, "Manifold misfortunes have made me irrecoverably heavy at heart — and the heaviest of all, the cold-blooded mockery of my heart's dearest affections by betraying friends. The thought of the many noble friends I have left, scarcely consoles me. The spirit perversely dwells on what it has lost, regardless of what remains to it. To think that that little, miserable, mad attempt to insult our poor half-starved old *Herald of Freedom*, down under the foolery of Board subjection, should have made such a breach among hearts. And that men of such noble capabilities as my old, admired Garrison, should take such a pitiful occasion to assault me and to poison the minds of my dearest friends on earth against me — really in my bruised state it proves almost too much for me. * * * Whom shall I dare admire and praise again?" Yet it is impossible to feel much sympathy for Mr. Rogers, for he, not less than Mr. Garrison, was prone on occasions to let his pen run riot, in his attacks upon those who differed from him in regard to matters of opinion and courses of action. He said even about Mr. Garrison as bad things as Mr. Garrison had ever said about him.

It belongs to such persons, intense and ardent, strong and self-willed, when seized upon by some one great idea, and devoted, body, mind, heart, and soul, to the accomplishment of the single

object it presents to view, to fight as for dear life and not always to be careful whom they cut and slash. Their words will be blows and battles. They are in dead earnest and cannot find time for well-considered language and conventional proprieties. They will naturally feel that they are right and that others who do not think and act with them are grievously if not wilfully wrong. In many respects they will be narrow and contracted in their views, impetuous and censorious in their speech, unwise and headlong in action. Yet it is just such men, fiery and intrepid, though sometimes bitter and bigoted, who perhaps most effectively push the world on and make possible a better condition of things for mankind. Their infirmities and extravagancies are forgotten, but they themselves, their great souls, their burning passion for truth and the right, their glorious deeds and their fidelity unto death, are remembered forever.

And not seldom, as conspicuously in the case of Mr. Garrison, such Reformers, however stern, or harsh, in the warfare to which they have pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," will be known and loved for all that is sweetest and most charming in less public spheres and relations. This valiant leader of the host, in his family and in society, was as genial and affable as he was bright and pure, and no one drew and bound human hearts to himself with stronger cords than did he. He was the idol of hundreds and thousands whom he had met in the onward way of life, and the scene of his death, when his children gathered around his bedside and sang to his departing spirit the precious old hymns he was wont to hear with so much delight in other days, tells us the story of the sanctities of his home.

He was a poet as well as a prophet, and some of his verses breathe his tender love for near and dear ones, as others his passionate love of liberty. Yet the two loves would run into each other. Freedom still was the inspiration of his muse. All good things were associated with it. Hear him as he sings to his
 "First Born :"

"Flesh of my flesh, now that I see thy form,
 And catch the starry brilliance of thine eyes,
 And hear—sweet music!—thy infantile cries,
 And feel in thee the life-blood beating warm,
 Strange thoughts within me generate and swarm :
 Streams of emotion, overflowing, rise;
 Such joy thy birth affords, and glad surprise,
 O nursling of the sunshine and the storm !

Bear witness, Heaven ! do I hate slavery less ?
 Do I not hate it more, intensely more ?
 Now this dear babe I to my bosom press ;
 My soul is stirred within me : ne'er before
 Have horrors filled it with such dire excess,
 Nor pangs so deep pierced to its inmost core.

Remember, when thou com'st to riper years,
 That unto God, from earliest infancy,
 Thy grateful father dedicated thee,
 And sought His guidance through this vale of tears.
 Fear God—then disregard all other fears ;
 Be in His Truth, erect, majestic, free ;
 Abhor OPPRESSION—cling to LIBERTY—
 Nor recreant prove, though horrid Death appears.
 I charge thee, in the name of Him who died
 On Calvary's cross—an ignominious fate—
 If thou wouldst reign with the GREAT CRUCIFIED,
 Thy reputation and thy life to hate ;
 Thus shalt thou save them both, nor be denied
 A glittering crown and throne of heavenly state."

No wonder that the poets, Whittier, Lowell, Pierpont, Burleigh, Higginson, Lewis, and others, hymned the praise of such a lover of the rights of man, who was also a member of their guild of song. It is not the province, nor is it the practice of the bards to embalm with honor in their verse the memories of the oppressors of the race. None but the pure, the true, the good, can enter there.

I think that justice has not been done usually to Mr. Garrison's superior intellectual ability. He has so generally been called an enthusiast, a fanatic or a madman—there has been so much of passion and heat in his writings and utterances—that the impression has prevailed that his moral nature was not sufficiently matched by his mental calibre—that his feelings and emotions needed to be conjoined with more power and breadth of thought and force and skill of argumentation. Yet he was a man of remarkable insight and intuitions. What others arrived at by slow, painstaking processes, he saw and grasped at once. This belongs to the higher order of mind. The primal, everlasting truths which he thus made his own in all their entirety, he had a most exceptional faculty of presenting to others in clearness and strength. His style is vehement, but exceedingly vigorous. It is natural and healthful, and absolutely free from cant and affectation. He had

a wonderful command of language, and his words were the fitting expression of the thoughts and sentiments that leaped for utterance. He was transparent as the light, true as steel. There was no cunning trick or device, no labored attempt at paradoxes, smartnesses, embellishments. He had that prime prerequisite of the highest oratory as of the noblest manhood—intellectual honesty. He knew what he wanted to say and he said it. He was charged with a momentous message to his countrymen, and how was he straitened until he should deliver it! At the same time, how he laid hold of every question of public interest which events brought to view, canvassed it and saw through it until he thoroughly understood it, and until all its bearings upon, or its relations with, the one vast subject that engaged him were clearly revealed to his mind! And whatever his mistakes in certain cases, how accurately, as he had his eye fixed upon all the leading men in office and upon all the prominent guides of popular opinion, he took the gauge of them, knew their ways and motives, and determined their worth or worthlessness! It is not strange that they were not indifferent to his voice of praise or censure. He was, in short, a man of marked intellectual as well as of extraordinary spiritual gifts, and all the endowments of his nature and elements of his being were so harmoniously combined and fused, that he may be said to have been of singular symmetry and strength. It was by virtue of such blended superiority of both head and heart that he so deeply impressed all who came in contact with him, and so powerfully influenced the age in which he lived. Take him, all in all, he was one of the few great men of the century, and such, we feel sure, will be the verdict of the swift coming future. Is it not the verdict, even now?

Yet, as he had certain faults or imperfections of character—for who has not?—so, in the judgment of the world generally, he cherished and advocated various views and opinions which were erroneous and impracticable. He was right in his moral reprobation of, and hostility against slavery—right in his like opposition to the evil of intemperance and in his labors for the enlargement of woman's sphere and prerogatives,—but wrong in his discountenance of civil governments and in his ultra peace and non-resistance doctrines—wrong in insisting that no man should vote or hold office under our laws and institutions—wrong in the extent to which he pressed his idea of “No union with Slave-holders,” in his

declaration that the National Constitution was "a Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell," and in his one great, earnest and solemn demand that the American Union, as being the chief bulwark of slavery, should be dissolved. What if the demand had been complied with? What if the friends of the slave, abstaining from all political action and from all resort to force of arms, had relied solely upon "moral suasion" for the maintenance and triumph of their cause? What if the North had separated from the South, and let her go her own way, to realize her fond dreams and work out her coveted destiny as she might, without let or hindrance? Who can doubt that she would, in accordance with her then deep designs and determined aims, have come at length to be the vast slave empire I have spoken of? It was the continued and unbroken union of the North with the South, in which Freedom and Slavery were kept together in a close and awful death-grapple, that brought about the magnificent result which we now behold. It needed no prophet's ken to foresee, no prophet's voice to foretell, which was to go under. Happily, the early abolitionists divided upon these important questions, Mr. Garrison and many of his friends still standing upon his original and radical platform, while others, holding that the Constitution was essentially an anti-slavery document, believing in human governments and the right and duty of voting and of holding office, and proclaiming their attachment to the Union and their purpose to labor on for the cause of emancipation within it and not outside of it—organized the Liberty Party. That grew into the more formidable Free-Soil Party. This in turn became the still more powerful Republican Party, which swept the Northern States, elected Abraham Lincoln, changed the whole policy of the nation, suppressed the Rebellion, and put an end to slavery forever. Garrison gave the original and needed impulse, and most of those who first set in train this line of political movements and organizations were men who had been at school with him as their master. But though he continued the fight in his own way as heroically as ever, the chief power early passed into the ranks of these successive and advancing parties, whose efforts, stimulated and aided, as they were, by the unceasing and alarming aggressions and propagandism of the Slave Power—the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and other nefarious measures—aroused

the whole North to united action in behalf of the sacred interests of the people and the Republic. There came a time when, under the overshadowing presence of such a political power, the Garrisonian party and its meetings and publications were, comparatively speaking, lost sight of—when Mr. Garrison in his *Liberator* office, was not so much feared and hated by the South as was Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber—Charles Sumner, whose mighty and memorable speeches were borne as on the wings of the wind throughout the North from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and whose heavy battle-axe was cleaving down one after another the inhuman laws of the land which Slavery had erected for its own protection, and whose fearless and accomplished statesmanship was building the new superstructure on the everlasting foundations of justice and right. Mr. Garrison, with his unspeakable and inextinguishable detestation of slavery, was not so consistently wedded to his doctrines of peace and non-resistance, and to his anti-political and anti-government notions, as not to be glad and exultant as the work of destruction went on. Nor was he less elated and happy when armed legions were summoned to give the finishing stroke, notwithstanding his disapprobation and horror of war and bloodshed. He must, consistently with his professed principles, still condemn the use of all carnal weapons of warfare, yet he could but encourage those who might honestly employ them, to go on and be faithful in the sanguinary conflict. It was not properly business of his; let those whose business it was do their duty.

“Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot :
Take thou what course thou wilt !”

“Father,” said to him his eldest born, “I think it my duty to go to the war.” Mr. Garrison looked into his face with deep emotion and said, “My son, you know I am a non-resistant, but I have always taught you to form your own opinions and to obey the dictates of your own conscience, regardless of my sentiments. If you think you ought to go into the war, go with my blessing.” And he went. These circumstances, taken in connection with Mr. Garrison’s visit to Charleston, S. C., in a government steamer, in company with high military, naval, and civil officers of the Union to raise again the Flag at Fort Sumter, and his strong influence exerted for the re-election of Gen. Grant to the Presidency, show that the progress of events had served to

correct not a little some of his erroneous and impracticable theories, from the time when he wrote the following: "We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subject military service. Hence we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office." He had seen, how in all the history of the world such things as these had been made subservient to, or expressive of, the tyranny of man over man. Now that they were at last eloquent of Liberty, it was natural that he should regard them with less abhorrence.

It was a privilege to see and hear Mr. Garrison, and I esteem it one of the most cherished satisfactions of my life, that, during his long-continued labors for the oppressed, I often listened to his earnest and uncompromising words in the service of truth and righteousness. I recall with deep gratitude an evening I spent with him and George Thompson, many years ago at the house of a friend in Roxbury, where we had been invited to tea and where it was given me to hear these two renowned champions of Freedom talk for hours about the great subject that interested them so much, and relate many of their experiences, in connection with it, of by-gone days. But I shall never forget a scene which occurred in the visit at Charleston, S. C., to which I have just alluded. One morning, while we were there, Mr. Garrison, Dr. Cuyler of this city, the late Joseph Hoxie of New York, and myself, walked to the Cemetery to stand by the grave of John C. Calhoun. There reposed the ashes of the greatest statesman of the South and the ablest advocate and defender of slavery as a divine institution and as the one chief good of society and the nation. Over his silent dust stood the living pioneer, hero, and apostle of the anti-slavery movement, whose word of power, more than any other human agency, had smitten to the earth and to death the hated system. Placing his hand impressively upon the monument that marked the spot, he said not less impressively, "Down deeper than

that Slavery has gone, and it will have no resurrection." It was a fitting scene to mark the close of the conflict and the final triumph of right over wrong, of Liberty over Oppression.

But from another new-made grave there comes a voice which is not less significant and solemn, and which it becomes us all to hear and heed. The mighty reformer is dead. His tongue is silent and his pen has dropped. But though dead, he yet speaketh. No character, no example, no life, has appeared amongst us that has been charged with so many and such priceless lessons for us, and especially for all who are early setting out in manhood's career, as is that of William Lloyd Garrison. He was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 12, 1804. His father was intemperate and the family was in consequence reduced to poverty. In his boyhood and before he was 17 years of age, the son was employed in various scattered places, in making shoes, sawing wood, and learning to print. He was fond of books and even in his teens wrote newspaper articles which attracted attention and elicited praise of which he might well have been proud. When but twenty, he was in the editorial chair, and thus entered upon the profession which he was to follow for full forty years — first in his native town, next at Boston, then at Bennington, afterwards at Baltimore, and finally again at Boston, where, January 1, 1831, he began the publication of his *Liberator*. Previous to 1829, his writings had evinced a high moral tone and an interest in subjects that related to the rights of man. But it was especially in that year that his soul took fire at the sin, wrongs, and woes involved in the system of American Slavery. And it was then that he raised the cry of "Immediate and Universal Emancipation." You know, however, the story — his continued struggles with adverse circumstances — his outrageous imprisonment at Baltimore, and the mob that dragged him through the streets with a halter about his neck, in Boston — his incessant work at writing, and his untiring exertions in addressing public gatherings in the Northern States, insulted as he was by the press, pelted with eggs and brickbats by the crowds, and hunted by wicked and violent men — and all his nameless and ceaseless persecutions by state authorities and church representatives, by wealth and rank and fashion and culture, whose contempt and derision were of the same spirit as prompted Georgia to offer \$5,000 as the price of his head. Yet through it all, from first to last, he pursued, unflinchingly, the one purpose that ran

through his whole life like a pure beam of light, and never for one moment falsified those thrilling and tremendous words which accompanied the first number of the *Liberator*, and which ought to be inscribed on his monument, "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—
AND I WILL BE HEARD."

We all see now what is the outcome of a noble purpose, bravely and firmly kept, and sustained by a spotless character and life. His youth and his manhood were chaste and incorruptible. No base habit or indulgence dimmed his moral vision, or enfeebled his powers and faculties. His soul was lofty and it was consecrated to great and glorious ends. In the service of God and Humanity, this poor and unbefriended printer fixed his gaze upon the one supreme object which he never allowed himself to lose sight of, and through evil report and through good report, alone or not alone, in storm or calm, he was faithful to his early vow, overcame every obstacle and vanquished every foe at last, broke the fetters from a race of slaves, lifted a nation out of its darkness and degradation, and died with the blessings and benedictions of millions upon his name.

Go, radiant and triumphant spirit, and take thy place with the Hampdens, the Howards, the Clarksons, the Wilberforces and the Lincolns, and all the just and holy ones who have patiently and valiantly wrought for the good of humanity, and who have passed into the light and joy of Heaven. Thine be still the progress unto perfection, and the service still of souls that need thee, forever and ever. But be at ours here below, to catch the secret of thy victory, to know thy purity of heart and thy devotion to the right, that we, too, in some humble measure, may follow after and share with thee the glory. Amen.

